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The Protestant Churches and Race Relations . J. OSCAR LEE

Segregation and the Church . . . . . AUBREY BURNS

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PAUL NEWTON POLING, Secretary and Editor; MARGARET E. KUHN, Assistant Editor; CLIFFORD EARLE, Associate Secretary; and WILLIAM H. MCCONAGHY, Director, and JESSE BELMONT BARBER, Associate Director of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations.

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THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS — SIGNIFICANT TRENDS

By DR. J. OSCAR LEE, *Executive Secretary, Department of Race Relations, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

"WHAT advances have the Churches made in the field of race relations?" This question is often asked, but it is a hard one to answer because the activities of many local churches are never reported to their national denominational organizations. Progress is also difficult to essay because incidents that seem to be backward steps occur along with the events that appear to be advances. This much is clear, however: the Protestant Churches have been active for a long time in the effort to place race relations on a basis of Christian brotherhood. And within the last decade the churches have intensified this activity. There has come a new determination to make their practices tally with their preachings both within their organizations and in society. The report that follows documents the fact that this determination is also part and parcel of the thinking of Christians in many communities.

Within the past three years the national bodies of seventeen member Churches of the Federal Council of Churches have issued statements that sanction the practice of an inclusive ministry to all people without regard to race, color, or national origin. Eight of these national Church bodies have renounced the pattern of segregation both in their own fellowship and in society; two have placed emphasis on the elimination of discrimination; and seven have indicated their concern for equal justice and opportunity for all people. In addition to defining denominational policy, these statements have served as a basis for launching a process of mass education in race relations within the denominations themselves.

Ten denominations now have executives at work on a full- or part-time schedule in the field of racial and cultural relations. They work with national, regional, state, and local denominational agencies, Church-related institutions, and local churches in developing inclusive racial policies and for fuller integration of racial minorities. Another part of their task is to work with the denominational membership to build support for the passage

of state and national legislation affecting the welfare of racial minorities. Also they produce literature and program materials, and conduct leadership training courses. For instance, in the past three years the Specialist on Religion and Race of the Race Relations Department of the Congregational-Christian Churches has conducted eighty-seven round tables on the church and race relations for local leaders. Within a two-year period, the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has sponsored five regional institutes and eight workshops. A milestone in co-operation is the Interdemoninational Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations which had its initial session at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, August 8-12, 1949. Eleven denominations and six councils of Churches participated in this project for the training of regional, state, and local church leaders.

Projects, such as rural-urban vacation exchanges, work camps for young people, vacation church schools, and weekday activities, furnish the churches and church-related organizations other opportunities for interracial activity.

The Vermont Plan offers an opportunity both for the Negro youth of New York City to spend two weeks as guests in the homes of white rural church folk in Vermont and for the Vermont adults to visit the city in order to meet the parents of their summer guests. This plan is sponsored by the Vermont Churches and the Abyssinian Baptist Church of New York City. Speaking of the project, a Vermont church leader said: "Something tremendous has happened amongst us. . . . If we are to have one world, we must work together and know each other better. The world is growing better, whether we believe it or not. We have just scratched the surface in humanitarian advance."

This plan with minor changes has spread to other sections of the country. (A similar project sponsored by the Minnesota Council of Churches is reported on page 39 of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.) Recently, the Interracial Fellowship of Greater New York and the Cortland Council of Churches sponsored a week-end trip to Cortland County, New York, for thirty-four New York City youth of high-school age. These young people from Negro, Chinese, Japanese, and Spanish homes were entertained in white homes.

Many church groups have conducted interracial work camps. The American Friends Service Committee has rendered an excellent service in the extensive promotion of such projects. In 1947, the Service Committee reported that "during the summer 200 campers, including staff, represented 31 high schools, 65 colleges, 18 denominations, 21 states, and 7 foreign countries." These youth work with the people of under-

privileged communities on some project of community improvement. Through this experience they discover the social and economic problems of the community as well as the viewpoint of the people. The free hours are spent in worship, recreation, and study of the problems in the light of the Christian gospel.

In communities where the public schools are segregated, vacation church schools open to all races serve as a demonstration that children of various races can work and play together. The All Souls Unitarian Church and the Florida Avenue Friends Meeting have conducted several of these schools in Washington, D.C.

Weekday church programs, such as weekday religious education classes, hobby and drama clubs and recreation offer opportunities for intergroup relations. An example of this type of project is the "All Aboard for Adventure" program conducted by the Emmanuel Baptist Church of Ridgewood, New Jersey. Each week boys and girls from six to thirteen years of age meet for worship, recreation, films, and light refreshments. The program is in its second year and the average attendance has reached one hundred. All children of the community are welcome, and ten to fifteen Negro boys and girls attend regularly.

A large number of churches are carrying on educational programs in race relations. In Washington, D.C., 75 churches out of 122 churches studied during 1949 were carrying on a race relations program of some type; 46 churches out of 63 churches studied in Akron, Ohio, were conducting similar programs.

Any real advance by the churches in this area depends upon whether the local churches can become racially inclusive in their own life and work. Three significant trends are evident at this point:

Individual Christians desiring the experience of fellowship and worship across racial lines not available in their local churches have organized "Interracial Fellowships," sometimes called "Fellowship Churches." These groups meet for fellowship and worship once or twice a month. In the interim some of them carry on activities of an educational or a social action nature. These groups are organized as a result of local initiative. While we do not know how many are in existence, the movement is widespread in towns and cities all over the nation. Such fellowships serve as an example to the entire community, and reinforce the individual Christian's conviction that the Christian community should be composed of all people. Moreover, it sends persons back into the local church to lead it in achieving this goal.

Several churches have been organized for the expressed purpose of emphasizing the racially inclusive nature of the Christian community.

They provide a regular membership, and in some cases an associate membership as well, for persons who desire to become a part of the movement, and also remain in their local churches. In addition to providing membership to people of all races, these churches have demonstrated that interracial professional leadership is valuable and practical. The San Francisco Fellowship Church of All Peoples, the Detroit Church of All Peoples, and the Philadelphia Fellowship Church have rendered distinguished service to their local communities and to the nation.

The third trend is the movement of local churches toward the achievement of racially inclusive congregations. Two denominational studies on this point are enlightening. In 1946, the Department of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association made "A Report on the Participation of Racial and Nationality Minority Peoples in Congregational-Christian Churches." The report states that "responses were received from 1,519 churches of which 388 indicated that nonwhite minority persons were included in their congregations. . . . The geographical spread of these churches involves 36 states and the District of Columbia (371 churches) and Hawaii (17 churches)." The Council on Christian Social Progress released a study on "Race Relations within the Northern Baptist Convention" in January, 1948. An analysis of this study indicates that 679 churches with predominately white membership reported Negroes, Japanese, and Chinese as members.

Some churches have had persons of racial minorities as members over many years. The First Baptist Church of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the Community Church and Riverside Church of New York City, are examples of this type of church. A number of churches have voted to become inclusive in membership after study and discussion of the Christian responsibility for race relations, as in the case of the Macedonia Baptist Church of Wheeling, West Virginia. Others have done so when an individual or family of a race other than that which normally attends requests membership. Still other churches have become racially inclusive in membership as they have faced the necessity of adjusting their programs to meet the needs of a changing community. The South Congregational Church, Central Presbyterian Church, the First Baptist Church of Chicago, and Cuyler Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York, fall into this class.

The First Baptist Church of Chicago is an old, well-established church which had apparently lost ground in a rapidly changing community. Many Japanese-Americans were relocated in the area, and a new opportunity for service presented itself in bringing them into the church. A young Japanese-

American was called as associate minister. Later, upon the retirement of the minister, he was elected to the pastorate. The church took on new life with the integration of Japanese-Americans into its membership, and within the past few months some Negroes have become members, promising an even greater expansion. The youth of the community are enlisted in a varied program of weekday activities. The church has been strengthened to such a degree that it no longer needs to be subsidized by home mission funds.

The East Harlem Protestant Parish in New York City represents a new approach involving both race relations and social service. A little more than a year ago, four young ministers—two white and two Negro—started to register children for a vacation church school on a card table placed on the pavement. Today, with a membership of almost 450, the parish operates in two store fronts and an abandoned Methodist church. Sponsored by the Baptist, Congregational-Christian, Presbyterian, and Methodist Churches, the parish serves Negroes, Spanish-speaking people, and other nationality groups in this overcrowded tenement area with religious services, pastoral care, recreation, cleanup campaigns and in many other practical ways, related to the daily needs of the parishioner.

Church-related organizations are also active in the effort to improve intergroup relations. The National Board of the YWCA and many of its branches have pioneered in making services, programs, facilities, and participation in the organization available to all regardless of race. Members of racial minorities are integrated in the organization and program of the Federal Council of Churches, and in many state and city councils of Churches. It has been possible for councils of Churches to follow this policy in some areas where segregation is enforced by law. The Virginia Council of Churches and the North Carolina Council of Churches operate on the basis of a racially inclusive policy. Then, too, many councils of Churches have active race relations committees working with local churches.

While a number of the Church-related colleges have always admitted students of racial minorities, some have traditionally limited their enrollment to white students. The administrators of a number of these colleges have discussed the matter with denominational executives and several have indicated a willingness to change their admission policies. Recent reports have been received indicating that Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, West Virginia, Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pennsylvania, and Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois, are among the Church-related colleges to admit Negroes for the first time.

The churches have a keen sense of their responsibility for improving race relations in society. They realize that whatever happens with regard to race in society vitally affects the churches, and in turn, what the churches do to eliminate segregation and prejudice also has far-reaching effects upon society. Local Church councils and local churches are active in community self-surveys aimed at improving conditions of minority racial groups. They have been in the forefront of action of community-wide race relations committees.

The Federal Council of Churches and several of the denominations are active in the effort to get civil rights legislation enacted by Congress. Study materials have been prepared on the issues involved for use in local churches. Study and discussion in local churches have often resulted in legislative action. Individual members have written and wired their Congressmen, have visited their Senators. Church groups are active also in stressing the moral and spiritual issues involved in these matters both in testimony before Congressional committees and in conferences with Governmental officials. The study guide entitled *Here's the Way to Secure These Rights*, published by the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, has been widely discussed. State and city councils of Churches, as well as denominations, participated in the recent movement for the enactment of fair employment practices in the eight states in which it passed and in several where it failed to pass.

The Board of Home Missions of the Congregational-Christian Churches has pioneered in filing briefs as a friend of the court in civil rights cases involving the application of moral and spiritual principles to which the Congregational-Christian Churches are committed. The Board of Home Missions has filed briefs in several cases, including the Stuyvesant Town Case involving segregation in housing and the cases on restrictive covenants in housing. Recently the Federal Council of Churches took similar action. A brief as a friend of the court was filed in the United States Supreme Court in support of a Negro, Heman Sweatt, who seeks admission to the University of Texas Law School (see page 29).

Even though the activities described here are hopeful and productive, we must close with a note of concern and challenge. As active as many churches and Church-related organizations are in this field, there are still too many that have remained unconcerned and inactive. Though much has been done, there are still too many instances of failure on the part of churches to deal with racial injustice. The task is just begun. The challenge is to put forth even greater effort in making brotherhood real in our churches and in society.

SEGREGATION AND THE CHURCH

By **AUBREY BURNS**, *Methodist minister and member of the Southwest Texas Conference of the Methodist Church.*

IN RECENT years, despite our prejudices and our fears, we have been becoming aware with increasing swiftness that this disease of segregation is intolerable, and that it threatens to destroy the very roots of our national integrity.

Lynching has declined. Poll tax laws have been repealed. Negro suffrage is rapidly becoming a reality in many Southern states. Justice is less often perverted. Negroes are serving in Congress and in state legislatures. Negro policemen are no longer rare. Court decisions are rejecting discriminatory legislation and interpretations.

The C.I.O. repudiates all racial discrimination in union membership, and A. F. L. unions are accepting increasing numbers of Negro members. Employers are opening to Negroes occupations formerly reserved for Caucasians. New York and other states and cities have instituted fair employment practice laws. Negro baseball players play in both major leagues.

Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas are struggling to break the bonds of educational segregation. Intercultural education projects growing out of the Springfield Plan have multiplied throughout the country. Segregation has been abolished in the school systems of Gary and Trenton. More than sixty Negro teachers are faculty members in twenty-five non-Negro colleges. The very concept of "separate but equal" education is under heavy fire as a self-contradiction. Nonsegregated residence is increasing as restrictive covenants fail.

Today, then, we can look, not with complacency but with hope, upon evidences of race relations progress in political, economic, educational, and social directions.

What about religion? Is the Church, true to its genius and dedication, marching ahead of all the other institutions of our society? Is religion blazing the trail for Government, for business and industry, for education, and for personal and group social relationships?

In doctrine, in principle, in precept, the answer is, "Yes."

Official pronouncements more and more explicit have been issued more and more frequently by more and more denominations and ecclesiastical councils. But in point of actual internal practice, we who love the Church cannot be proud when we look at the growing trend away from the prevailing patterns of discrimination. Scores of nation-wide and

local secular organizations are working earnestly for better race relations. But last in the procession, behold the Church, the Bride of Christ, reluctantly dragging her heels.

The Church is segregated. The Church, I am afraid we must admit, is of all our institutions the most race-conscious.

Frank Loescher's *The Protestant Church and the Negro* spells out this indictment with documentation and statistics:

There are approximately 8,000,000 Protestant Negroes. About 7,500,000 are in separate Negro denominations. The remaining 500,000 Negro Protestants—about 6 per cent—are in predominantly white denominations, and of these, at least 99 per cent are in segregated congregations. The number of white and Negro persons who ever gather together for worship under the auspices of Protestant Christianity is almost microscopic.

It is not only in church organization and worship that Protestantism discriminates against the Negro. Restrictive covenants are the chief means, outside the South, for the enforcement and perpetuation of residential segregation, which automatically acts to keep Caucasians in "white" churches and Negroes in Negro churches. Until very recently all Protestant denominations had been silent on this subject. One reason is the fact that some of them own property bound by such covenants.

In urban transition areas, where Negroes are moving into the territory served by a "white" church, Dr. Loescher's observation is that "the customary pattern in Protestantism is to resist the Negro invasion and then, when transition has occurred, to sell the property to a Negro group."

Denominations employ large numbers of persons. But there is little evidence that in their role as employers they have taken occasion to provide an example to commercial employers by eliminating race as a factor in choosing employees.

Many Protestant leaders who recognize the shameful irony of current ecclesiastical practice rationalize the sense of guilt thus: "We're coming along as fast as we can, but you can't move great masses of average people too rapidly. You can't get too far ahead of the membership or you will lose contact."

It is true that many top-level Protestants have aching consciences on this subject, and that encouragingly large numbers of them are saying and doing everything possible to correct the inconsistency.

Three years ago the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America officially renounced the pattern of segregation in race relations as "unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the gospel of love and human brotherhood," and requested its constituent denominations to do likewise.

At least four denominations [the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., was the first to concur in this pronouncement] have adopted the statement as their own, three others have recommended their churches welcome Negroes, and a few have made kindred pronouncements.

It would be unfair not to give full credit to the leavening elements that do exist. But they are still merely voices crying in the wilderness, with few disciples. It is at the local church level that segregation touches the individual Negro worshiper, and only when nonsegregation has reached the local church level in practice will it ever have any real meaning for the membership.

In the congregationally governed denominations, and indirectly in the others as well, it is not good for a minister's tenure in his present pastorate, or for his advancement in his career, if he is too outspoken or too active in directions that arouse the disapproval of the majority of his lay membership, or even of a key handful possessed of money and influence. In recent years ministers have recognized that to be under suspicion of interracial leanings is to be on dangerous ground. It is more dangerous in some denominations than in others, and safer in some localities than in others. But the danger is there, and the pastors know it. Few are eager to be martyrs.

We Protestants believe that the Church belongs to the communicants just as we believe that the State belongs to its citizens. But one unavoidable result is that ministers, like politicians, are pressed sorely to become weather vanes rather than compasses.

But there are many who do not swing with the wind, and I have no doubt that there are hundreds of ministers who would answer, "Yes!" to the following questions:

Would not the power of integrity prove more effective than the influence of size and prosperity?

Is it not probable that by fulfilling their moral and religious function, Protestant Churches might soon find themselves able to resume their social function without excluding "God's stepchildren" from that fellowship?

Let the Protestant Churches of America take to heart and ponder solemnly certain questions far more penetrating:

"Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted?" "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" "And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" "Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into the ditch?"

—Reprinted from the spring, 1949, issue of Southwest Review, *Southern Methodist University, Dallas 5, Texas.*

THE RAINBOW IN ST. LOUIS BLUES

By WILLIAM H. McCONAGHY, *Director of Presbyterian Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations.*

THE Negro boys were attacked as they emerged from locker rooms. The white boys chased them through the park, striking at them with the sticks and bats. Several suffered head injuries. One policeman took a six-inch hunting knife from the waistband of a white boy. The Negroes returned later to claim smashed bicycles, but none applied for admission to the pool at the afternoon sessions."

Thus *The New York Times,* of last June 21, concluded its news item on the swimming pool incident in St. Louis. This racial clash brought to an end an order opening the city's nine municipal swimming pools and thirty-five playgrounds to joint use by Negroes and whites. The order was in effect one day.

So what? Just another incident in the American scene reported casually on a back page of a metropolitan daily? Perhaps. But the keen eye of a servant of the Church, Dr. Paul N. Poling, spotted the news item and wrote the mayor of the Missouri city, reflecting the anxiety of his Division of Social Education and Action:

I was exceedingly interested in your attempt to overcome the racial discrimination practiced in the swimming pools of St. Louis, and disappointed, as I know you were, in the violence among the teen-age groups it resulted in. I hope this matter is not going to end with the thoughtless and lawless leaders among the white teenagers in control of the situation. The roots of segregation are too deep to be easily dislodged, but the evil influence is so great that I hope you and the City of St. Louis are determined to persist in the good works you undertook. Perhaps a more careful preparation needs to be planned for such a step. Our Division has had considerable experience in this field and is happy to give assistance in the wise and just solutions of these problems. Our Director of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations has as his associates many experts in the field from various societies and denominations. They would be happy, I know, to assist if they are called upon and to have the benefit of your experience also. I was deeply disturbed by the last paragraph of the news item that reported the disorderliness in St. Louis. The paragraph stated that "the Negroes returned later to claim smashed bicycles, but none

applied for admission to the pool at the afternoon sessions." Perhaps we can start with the replacement or repair of the damaged bicycles for these unhappy boys. I am enclosing a check for $10 that I would like to have you use as part of such a fund. Doubtless you have already had similar contributions. We would like to have a share in putting repaired bicycles in the hands of these boys. I am sure public notice would secure sufficient funds and also discover the owners of the broken wheels.

The scene now shifts back to the mayor's office in St. Louis. A public official is trying to fulfill his civic responsibilities to a major American city. He faces fairly the fact that what happened in his area is also of direct concern and importance to all other areas of the country, even of the world. His secretary conveys the mayor's thought in the matter through the following letter:

Our mayor has directed me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 22, 1949, and to thank you for your observations and suggestions relative to municipal swimming pools in public parks. Inasmuch as we have no way of knowing whose bicycles were smashed in the very unfortunate incident at Fairgrounds Park several weeks ago, I am returning herewith the check which you so generously sent us for the purpose of having the wheels repaired. The police reports, which have been carefully examined, indicate that three bicycles were damaged to some extent but even at the time the names of the owners were not ascertained. Fortunately, there have been no recurrences of such violence.

Did that conclude the matter? Ordinarily it might. But Christian social concern is not "ordinary." The prefix "extra" is required to transmute the casual gesture of a good citizen into the transforming involvement of a concerned Christian. The philosophy of the second mile commitment is reflected in the next letter to the mayor of St. Louis.

The letter from Mr. Hume in reply to my offer to help a bit with the damage done the boys' bicycles in the nonsegregated swimming episode in St. Louis leaves me with several questions unanswered. My chief concern is lest the fact that there has been "no recurrence of such violence" indicates a surrender on the part of the city Government of its commendable effort to make an advance in the relationship between the races in St. Louis. I sincerely hope that your project has not been abandoned in the face of the lawlessness of groups of misled teen-agers. There is every reason to believe that with

persistence the co-operation of these very elements that have defeated the first attempt can be secured in overcoming our class prejudices and discriminations.
I will greatly appreciate it if you can let me have some information that will give us the benefit of your experience in working toward a better understanding among the races. We entertain a great hope for the success of this venture on which you embark, and will be happy to assist wherever possible in securing its good issue.

To the credit of the civic leadership in this racially tense area constructive steps were taken to bring about better feelings and more wholesome relationships between the differing groups within the community. That this last letter was not considered "outside interference" is shown in the cordial reply received.

Our mayor has directed me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 22, 1949, with further reference to interracial relations in St. Louis.
Since the unfortunate incident at the swimming pool in Fairgrounds Park in June, the mayor has formed a Council on Human Relations in a determined effort to improve intergroup relationships and to pave the way for an orderly end of discriminatory practices.
The Council engaged Mr. George Schermer, Executive Secretary of a similar group in Detroit, to make a comprehensive survey of the situation in St. Louis, together with recommendations for improvement. I am asking our chairman of the Council to forward you a copy of this report if still available.

Commendation and appreciation is reflected in the wording of the next letter leaving the Division of Social Education and Action. The continuing interest of the Division is evident.

Thank you very much for your reply to my letter to the mayor concerning the approach to race relations in St. Louis. It is very encouraging to have your word concerning the mayor's plans and the formation of the Council on Human Relations.
We would be very much interested in the report and such other information as your committee turns up that would be of use to us in our work with other cities and communities. We find it is from the laboratory of experience that our best plans come.

Sound wisdom and mature judgment dictated a progressive program for this "Midwestern city with a Southern exposure." It was a tribute to this religious denomination that further participation was invited.

Our mayor has sent me his correspondence with you about the swimming pool incident which occurred the latter part of June. At his suggestion, I am sending you separately a copy of the report. In order that you may have some idea of the objectives of our Council on Human Relations, I am also sending you a copy of the minutes of our organization meeting.

The report was released on August 1, and on the whole was very favorably received. St. Louis has been described as a "Midwestern city with a Southern exposure." With the pattern of segregation followed here, mandatory in our public schools, the recommendations of the report are rather strong medicine. In its release and in the action of the Council in approving the recommendations, we seem to have struck the nice balance of being somewhat ahead of public opinion, but not so far ahead as to arouse violent antagonisms that would destroy our usefulness.

The next task of the Council is to secure a full-time executive to carry on our work. As our budget will be somewhat limited, to begin with we will have to rely upon one professional person who must possess the rather unusual combination of being qualified to work out and direct a long-range program of education in this ticklish field, and at the same time be able to work effectively with public officials and with various groups in the community in solving the problems that require immediate attention. We have been thinking in terms of paying our executive a salary somewhere in the range of $6,000 to $9,000 a year. Any suggestions you may have as to a person qualified to fill this position will be appreciated.

We will also be happy to receive any suggestions which you and members of your organization, out of your wide experience, may be able to offer us regarding the carrying on of the work of our Council.

The Division of Social Education and Action further confirms the validity of the approach taken and offers assurance of continued guidance and counsel.

Thank you very much for writing me concerning the swimming pool incident in St. Louis and placing me on the list for your committee's report. We will be very much interested in reading it.

It impresses me that you are certainly proceeding with wisdom and tact, as well as conviction, in working on the situation that confronts you in St. Louis on the relationship of the races. We will be very much interested in having the benefit of your experience.

I am referring this correspondence to the Director of our Institute on

Racial and Cultural Relations. It may well be that he will have someone to suggest for the position you have open.

Two agencies were stand-by witnesses during the period of this correspondence. One was the local presbytery. The Social Education and Action chairman of the area was alerted "to see what measures can be taken which offer the best hope for a happy solution." He would be in a position to visit personally with the mayor. The crisis offered the local churches an opportunity to help toward the solution of a community problem.

The second agency of the Church was the Presbyterian Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations, located in the Division of Social Education and Action, Philadelphia. A current file of qualified personnel in race relations was consulted and a recommendation for the position of Director of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations was forwarded. Now in the process of being planned is a race relations workshop to be held in the St. Louis area, to prepare Church leaders to take their rightful place in the vanguard for better human relations.

Conclusions

1. Individual consciences, socially sensitized, can channel Christian relief and concern where most needed.
2. Public sentiment, morally motivated, alerts civic leadership.
3. The dispossessed and disfranchised can look to Church denominations for championship and leadership.
4. A responsible public press reflects social needs and offers opportunities for Christian social action.
5. Public officials who sincerely desire to fulfill obligations to society welcome constructive guidance when offered in a spirit of good will and cooperation.
6. Sustained interest and continued participation is required after initial contact if wholesome follow-through is to be expected.
7. Denominational headquarters can give indispensable aid in social emergencies because of trained leadership, national agency channels, tested techniques and procedures.
8. Deviation from wholesome democratic community living should alert the local church to need for study, survey, leadership training, program building, and civic guidance.
9. Christian social conscience implemented by Christian social action makes genuine the prayer, "Thy Kingdom come on earth." Because God cares, we must care also—or lose God.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

By FANNIE SPAHR, *member of the Presbyterian Board of National Missions.*

CHURCH women of all faiths and denominations have long furnished valuable moral leadership in the South. Now as never before their active leadership is needed—to help bring practices in closer accord with the ideals of Christianity and Judaism, to strengthen and broaden democracy, to build a society in which every person can be confident of security and justice. By their determination to see these aims achieved, thousands of Southern church women are joined together in a fellowship that knows no boundaries of race or creed—the Fellowship of the Concerned.

In September, 1949, 150 leaders of church women's groups came together for a two-day conference on the spiritual approach to social issues. They gathered at the call of the Southern Regional Council, the National Board of the YWCA, and church women's organizations. The conference had as its guests Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Southern authorities on civic and religious life. The conference took place at the Wesley Memorial Church in Atlanta, Georgia. But the delegates represented every Southern state and dozens of communities. They pledged themselves to report the results of the meeting to, and to enlist the cooperation of local church women.

There are still serious inequalities in courts and law enforcement. Negro citizens frequently suffer from the discrimination of judges and juries. The measure of justice to white persons is too often influenced by social or economic status. The most defenseless of our citizens are not always safe from brutality at the hands of police officers, many of whom are poorly chosen, poorly paid, and poorly trained. These failures of our democracy must be remedied if we are to supply the moral leadership demanded of us by our religious convictions and our world position. The remedy lies with us, in our own communities.

We have made a direct appeal to church women to affirm and carry out the following pledge or resolution, involving personal commitment and personal responsibility:

I, as a church woman, am concerned that our Constitutional freedoms are not shared by all our people; my religion convinces me they must be and gives me

courage to study, work, and lead others to the fulfillment of equal justice under law.

I am willing to sit in the courts and to visit police and other law enforcement agencies to learn how law is administered in my community. I will work with others in times of tension to see that the rights of all are protected.

Names and addresses of persons signing the pledge are then forwarded to the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

The conference earnestly examined the problems of our region, weighed our day-to-day practices against our democratic and spiritual ideals. The result: a program around which all conscientious Southern women can rally. Here is a workable plan of action for the Fellowship of the Concerned—we recommend it to the Church at large.

What We Can Do Locally

About the Law

- Inform ourselves of the areas in our communities where law is not equally enforced, and work for corrective action.
- Visit the courts and make our influence felt in the interest of equal justice for all.
- Encourage better selection and training of policemen.
- Work for appointment of Negro policemen.
- Commend police officials when they show courage and integrity.
- Get in touch with the Southern Regional Council when tension arises, and take all possible local action to prevent violence.

About the Vote

- Do our part to see that opportunity for registration and voting is really secure for all.
- Oppose state reregistration measures that threaten the security of any voters.
- Urge our county Democratic executive committees to train poll workers for proper performance of duties.

About Public Opinion

- Offer our services as election managers and clerks.
- Affirm in personal relations and religious and civic work our conviction of the dignity of all human beings and the ideal of equal justice.
- Support and encourage pastors who offer progressive leadership in the community.
- Discuss problems with our newspaper editors; commend their good works; and urge the adoption of improved practices in the handling of racial news.
- Urge your local schools to cooperate in building better human relations.
- Begin, on however small a scale, an institute on race relations.

PRACTICE WHAT YOU PRAY

By **CATHERINE S. BARKER**, *active church leader in Maryville, Tennessee.*

Church women throughout the world will be observing the World Day of Prayer on February 24, 1950. They will unite in this prayer theme—"Faith for Our Time." It is hoped that many will express their unity of spirit by worshiping together as one great body in Christ. A group of Southern women have found this inclusive worship a deeply spiritual and moving experience.

BEFORE the World Day of Prayer in one of the early war years, a Christian woman in Maryville, Tennessee, reasoned thus: Why should our white women gather in one church building to pray for the brotherhood of Christians of all races? Why not demonstrate the sincerity of our prayers by praying together? She presented her questions to representatives of the churches which had met each year on the World Day of Prayer. All agreed to ask the women of the Negro churches to pray with them and to take part in the program. And on the appointed day Negro and white women worshiped together.

Some time later a small group decided that it would be desirable for the women of the various denominations to get together oftener than once a year. Representatives of a few of the white churches were asked to meet to discuss the possible formation of an interdenominational organization. It was no great step for the group to vote to invite the women's societies of the Negro churches to be a part of the new organization. They were already accustomed to praying together.

So a Council of Church Women was organized "for the purpose of promoting Christian fellowship and mutual understanding."

Thursday had long been Church Day for all the women. But when there was a fifth Thursday in a month, it was a free day, with no regularly scheduled meetings. So fifth Thursdays were taken as Council meeting days.

For each meeting one church was to act as hostess while another would be responsible for the program. The programs would help in the attainment of "mutual understanding," but if the women went home immediately after the program there would be little opportunity to get acquainted. So it was decided that a social hour should follow each pro-

gram in order to "promote fellowship."

Because some questioned whether women who were willing to worship with those of another race would also be willing to eat with them, the constitution provided that during the social hour "light refreshments *may* be served," and it was made clear that each hostess church was to be free to choose what it wished to do in this matter.

A Southern church extended its invitation for the second meeting, too soon for a precedent to have been established. Would they serve refreshments? A Negro church volunteered to present the devotional service. The program that day was given by a delegate to the conference of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam. He described the gathering of many religions and many races, drawn together by their mutual love of their one Lord. His audience listened with especial interest because they themselves were trying out ecumenicity on a small scale. It was a conclusion quite in keeping with the spirit of the meeting when the hostess church invited all the group to stay for tea. The serving of refreshments has become precedent now.

It has been the policy of the Council to avoid consideration of the race question in its programs. The subjects chosen have been those of interest to any Christian woman. One program was presented by the white president of the Negro Knoxville College, assisted by students from his own school and from Maryville College. The subject for the afternoon was "Christian Education," with no mention of race.

At the conclusion of a recent meeting which had offered a stimulating experience in Christian worship, a devout Negro woman said: "It is good for us Christians to worship our Lord together. I do believe it's the way He wants it." And her white sisters agreed with her.

The Testimony of Witnesses

Our D.P. family arrived this week, and while we are not out of the woods with them yet in regard to jobs, it has been one of the greatest things ever to happen in the life of our congregation.—*Thomas Stratton Goslin, II.*

Just a little note to tell you our Delayed Pilgrim came today. She is an Estonian, 44, high-school and college educated, speaks Russian, German, Estonian, and English, a splendid cheerful personality. She arrived in New York from Bremen, Germany, yesterday. Her family are all dead except some cousins who escaped to Sweden.

We thank you so much for encouraging us to apply. Already we are hearing from some of the town how "wonderful we are and *how did* we ever think of such a thing?" One wonders what people do with their time and if they ever listen to *any* radio programs except "whodunits" or "giveaways."—*Mrs. Pliny Berlin.*

AN EVIL THAT CAN BE CRUSHED

The editors gratefully acknowledge permission to reprint portions of the pamphlet Forbidden Neighbors, *published by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing.*

A LONG overdue cleanup is being organized in the United States. People of good will are joining to combat a disease that experts say infects about four fifths of our population. The disease is group hatred.

Housing is the crux of the fight against group hatred because when we forbid people of certain nationalities, colors, or religions to become our neighbors, we go on to forbid them many other rights. We keep them out of our schools. We bar them from better jobs. We forbid them to enter our parks, hotels, theaters, and other public places.

The Negro or Mexican or Japanese who is compelled to live in a broken-down shanty across the railroad tracks automatically is classified a third-rate citizen. He is rarely welcome even in the churches of the middle-class residents. His children are not considered fit playmates for white children. The schools to which they go are seldom equal to white schools.

Segregated housing is found in almost every city and town. It is an evil that can be wiped out by effective methods and informed citizens.

Just why does America, a country that tells the whole world about its democratic ideals, permit housing segregation to exist? One big reason is that many of us decent citizens feel more comfortable by shutting our eyes to the existence of group hatred. We duck the responsibility of stopping it.

Minority groups are not segregated by their own choice or by accident. Segregation is accomplished by a general conspiracy, a conspiracy in which even the United States Government has participated. For many years the chief instrument for oppressing the minorities was the restrictive housing covenant inserted in deeds to property. For example, the covenant of the Leawood subdivision in Kansas City, Kansas, provides that no part of the area may be owned or occupied "by any person of Negro blood or by any person who is more than one fourth of the Semitic race . . . including Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Turks, Persians, Syrians, and Arabians." In 1948 the Supreme Court finally ruled that these covenants could not be enforced. But they are still effective because, as with gambling contracts, the makers respect them.

How the Conspiracy Works

Real-estate boards and operators act almost universally to keep Negroes and other minority groups

from entering white neighborhoods. Private builders and lenders neglect the Negro market, and often join in the conspiracy. In New York City the leading financial institutions agreed among themselves not to finance housing for Negroes or Spanish-speaking families beyond the present boundaries of the ghettos. When Negroes are able to borrow, they must usually pay higher interest rates than whites.

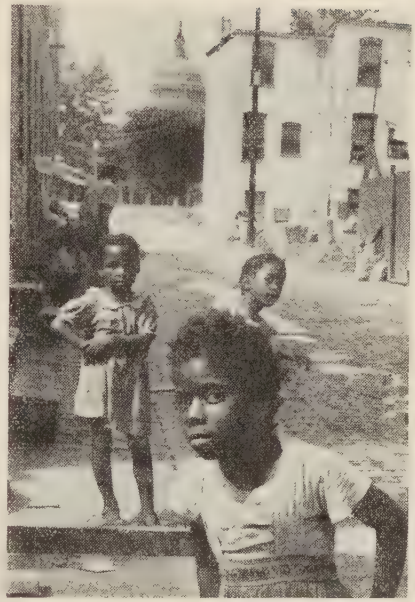
Finally, it has been the policy of the Federal Housing Administration itself not only to condone but also to insist upon perpetuating segregation. The FHA has been unwilling to insure any mortgages for construction of Negro housing outside of established Negro neighborhoods. Public pressure during the past several years forced the FHA in 1949 to announce that the policy was being abandoned. Whether the change is meaningful remains to be seen.

Discrimination is partly explained by the prejudices of builders and lenders. But there are many builders and lenders who feel they are simply complying with the wishes of the residents when they deny fair treatment to minorities.

One neighborhood flaunts its disease . . . with American flags

Obviously the group that suffers most from housing discrimination is the group discriminated against. But no part of the community or the nation is undamaged. You can't have a sound, healthy community and maintain an ulcerous ghetto at the same time. Crime, delinquency, disease, and death are invariably concentrated in the minority group ghettos. But the poisons brewed by discrimination always spill over.

When a community fails to provide decent housing, good schools, and adequate recreational facilities for everybody, the price is heavy. More taxes are required to pay for extra health and welfare services and for extra police and fire protection. The taxes come from the better districts, because ghettos are areas of low assessments, delinquent taxes, and high upkeep costs.



In the squalid shadows of the nation's capital—some of the nation's worst slums

The Greatest Loss

More serious than the cash loss is the waste of human beings. The child who is born and reared in a ghetto is handicapped physically and psychologically in becoming a good, productive citizen. New York State meticulously regulates the sanitation of barns for dairy cattle but lets children grow up under conditions that no modern farmer would tolerate.

Race riots and minor violence are the natural products of segregation. A race riot might easily be attributed—as many of them are—to the frustration of the minority group. Searching deeper, psychologists have pointed out that responsibility is at least shared by, and often originates with, the dominant majority. The dominant group becomes frightened and insecure with the guilty knowledge that it has forced a large number of fellow citizens to live miserably in segregation. The combination of the minority's resentment and the majority's fear makes enough gunpowder for a catastrophe.

Since discrimination is contrary to our democratic traditions, those

who practice it are enemies of the American way of life. Segregation splits the community into segments that are mutually mistrustful if not hostile. Agreement on good candidates and good programs for the entire city becomes difficult, often impossible, when the minority groups are compelled to battle primarily for their own welfare.

Our Reputation Is Showing

In foreign countries our system of segregation has been more thoroughly publicized than our preachments on democracy and the equality of man. A Danish official who had spent several months in Washington on a mission for his Government wrote this to an American friend:

"Whenever a citizen of any prominence returns to my country after a visit to the United States, he is interviewed as he steps off the ship. He is always asked a great many questions about the United States—and the newspapers print these interviews because their readers want to know about America. Frankly, I heard about Washington's racial discrimination long before I arrived there, in just that way. It is no exaggeration to say that most of our people who come to your capital go home with what you call 'a bad taste in their mouths' for that reason. And it is not only they who are affected. Your racisms become public knowledge."

What 27,000 Families Have Proved

Almost as a by-product of the United States Housing Act of 1937, a new and tremendous truth has dawned upon us. The record of low-rent housing projects in dozens of cities has shown that people of different races and religions can and do live happily together.

There is a vacant lot in southwest Washington where the neighborhood people of all ages and several races play marbles, horseshoes, and baseball. The lot was taken into the city's playground system. A supervisor arrived. Negro boys were warned to keep out. For the first time there were fights and damage to property. After a year of segregation trouble the supervisor was withdrawn. Everybody played again. There wasn't any more trouble.

What the Negroes and whites proved on the Washington playground has been thoroughly demonstrated in 325 low-rent public housing projects where 27,562 white and Negro families live and play side by side. Nondiscrimination is not the dream of idealists. It is a policy that has been thoroughly tested during the past ten years. And wherever it has been tried—in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Seattle, Los Angeles, Oakland, and many other cities—"It works."

The Biggest Opportunity

The vast new public housing program approved by Congress in the summer of 1949 gives advocates of democratic housing the greatest chance in history to strike a crippling blow against segregation. This opportunity stems from two factors:

First, there will be 810,000 new dwellings—five times as much housing for low-income families as there is today. Local housing authorities have already prepared plans for hundreds of new developments. The time to establish a policy of nonsegregation and to win community acceptance is in the planning stage. Some enlightened housing authorities will need little prompting. Other authorities, however, are dominated by representatives of the very business groups that have perpetuated racist segregation. These authorities will not grant equality to minority groups unless firm pressure from civic leaders of principle and courage compels them to do so. It is very easy for any citizen to find out exactly what plans the local housing authority is making. He may simply write a letter and see that he gets an answer.

Secondly, the big new program will involve much more than construction of isolated housing projects. Under the urban redevelopment provisions of the Housing Act of 1949, the Federal Government will give liberal financial aid to cities that prepare sound plans for cleaning up blighted areas and redeveloping them with private apartments, or with low-rent housing, or with parks or commercial structures. Until now, segregated housing has been a serious obstacle to the replanning of our nineteenth century cities. So long as minority groups cannot move into other neighborhoods they must stay in their ghettos—which are generally in the heart of the city.

Neighbors all at Kingsborough Housing Project. Wherever the policy of nondiscrimination has been tried, the unanimous report has been, "It works"

In many cities there have been piecemeal amputations of central slums to provide space for public

(Continued on page 26)

An App

TOO YOUNG FOR HARD LESSONS

THE first day of school has its lessons even for adults. Last September I was caught in the flood of youth on opening day that overflowed streetcars and subways. This human tide—boys and girls, black and white—pushed one of the smaller children against the seat I occupied. I suppressed the desire to offer him a place on my knee. A father who has seen three sons go bravely to that first day in school understands and respects the shy independence of the first-grader! The boy stood silently beside me. His very quietness set him apart from the turbulence created by the other young students. Good taste and care were evident in his well-fitting and neat clothing: The brown corduroy slacks and topper, the little coat of turquoise blue, the book bag strapped over his shoulder and a small matching lunch box, so well accorded with the soft beauty of the child's face.

The sensitive, searching countenance of this boy, "entering to learn," was more moving than words. A child has much to learn of "reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic." For years now he will pore over his books—and he will be learning things not in books. This boy particularly has much to learn. There is a special course of hard lessons for him—I saw that in his face. He must learn his place. He must learn that there are schools he can't learn in, that there are children he can't play with, that there are stores he can't shop in, restaurants he can't eat in, jobs he can't work in, trains he can't ride in, neighborhoods he can't live in, churches he can't worship in, hospitals he can't find care in, and when he dies, cemeteries he can't be buried in. These things he must learn unless we, his elders, learn what the true place of this child is—what his place is in the Kingdom of Heaven, where "their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." When will we learn that "whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea"? We must learn that "God is no respecter of persons," and "woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." We must learn "if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee . . . go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." We have to learn that "mine house shall be called an house of prayer for *all* people."

to Faith

OLD ENOUGH TO KNOW BETTER

Perhaps—surely!—we Christians will learn in our day the blessed lesson of brotherhood. We will learn that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." If we learn quickly enough, we may save ourselves and spare my first-grader his hardest and bitterest lesson.

The Church of Christ is responsible for revealing the mind of Christ in this issue of race. We need not—we must not—wait to act until the community is converted or the Church acts from newness of life in race relations. In a score of ways daily—in prayer and speech and conduct—every one of us can now become the advocate of these oppressed and dispossessed among us. The Kingdom of Heaven can come within us. The church school classes, the midweek services, the Christian forums, are excellent opportunities for learning the will and the desire of God. Here under the guidance of the Holy Spirit we may search the facts of our unbrotherliness in the light of the Scripture and the witness of the Church.

The Division of SEA has materials to guide such studies—studies designed to prepare the mind of our people and secure the action God requires of us. This study of the facts is essential to enlightened Christian action. Exhortation is not enough, and may defeat our purpose. It is a knowledge of the truth that will set us free. We of the white Christian community have a lesson to learn quickly of the "good Teacher" if we are to spare the child who started school last fall!

When we learn to do well in the relations of race, our Lord will no longer need, for our offense, to include us in his prayer, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." Is it not our Lord's clear teaching that the denial, the discrimination, the violence aimed at these despised and rejected of men crucify him afresh?—"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

—Paul Newton Poling.

Race Relations Sunday, February 12, 1950

Theme: Make Brotherhood Real

Order your Race Relations Sunday packet for 1950 from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Price, 10 cents each; $6.25 a hundred.

AN EVIL TO CRUSH

(Continued from page 23)

buildings, new highways, and other public uses. This kind of slum clearance simply compels the displaced families to double up with others, piling congestion upon congestion and multiplying the hazards of slum life to the whole community. The only way to make replanning possible, to make cities comfortable and attractive, is by recognizing the right of minority groups to live anywhere they choose—and by providing enough housing for everybody.

Three Basic Truths

Contrary to what many uninformed people think, these things are true:

1. Property values are not damaged when Negroes move into a white neighborhood.

2. Large banks and insurance companies are now financing private projects for mixed occupancy.

3. Negroes make good tenants.

These statements are equally applicable to other minority groups. Let's consider them in order:

1. Many decent citizens are opposed to segregation in principle and would be perfectly willing to have a Negro family of their economic level in the house next door. But they are afraid their lifetime investment in a home would be jeopardized. They have been told that property values collapse whenever Negroes move into white neighborhoods. Actually, the only areas that Negroes can enter are districts already on the downgrade. The panic-stricken whites then stampede, selling for almost any price offered by a smart speculator. Once the neighborhood is occupied by Negroes, usually at higher densities and higher rents, prices rise again to a point higher than the original level and higher than for comparable property elsewhere. The real-estate operator cleans up. The whites and Negroes both lose.

2. Strange as it may seem, the biggest investments in urban redevelopment are being made in one of the very few cities that prohibit segregation: New York City. In contrast, none of the banks or insurance companies has invested a dollar for urban redevelopment in all the other cities of New York State or in any of the twenty-three states where discrimination may be practiced. New York City adopted its antidiscrimination ordinance in 1944 after the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company had barred Negroes from its tax-exempt Stuyvesant Town. Since then the Bowery Savings Bank, the Mutual Life Insurance Company, and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company itself have invested more than $46,000,000 in five urban redevelopment and limited dividend projects with 4,210 dwellings open to both whites and Negroes.

3. The National Association of Real Estate Boards questioned its members on Negro ownership and occupancy in 1944 and found that:

> Realtors with experience in Negro housing reported that as a class the Negro home buyer meets his payments faithfully—often more faithfully than other race groups in the same economic level—and that if his property is in good repair when he obtains it, he takes care of it after he buys it. As a tenant, he takes as good care of such premises as other tenants of his economic class.

Rental properties occupied by Negroes often look shabby because landlords refuse to paint or make repairs, the slum owner's sole interest being to collect maximum rent for minimum outlay. In contrast, the Negroes try hard to make their hovels livable. The tenants commonly buy linoleum to cover rotten floors, patch up falling plaster, and do their own inside painting.

An Immediate Program

The first step in attacking discrimination is to get the facts and spread them before the public. Within recent years a new method of doing this has been developed. It is called the community self-survey. Housing is the field where the problem can be measured most accurately and reported most dramatically, and it is practical to limit the self-survey to housing alone.

The self-survey will be successful only if it is carefully planned by a cross section of community leaders who are willing to give enough time for a proper job. The leaders must be persons whose conclusions and recommendations will carry weight. The actual field work is done by a large number of volunteers representing different racial and religious groups, all of whom must be qualified to collect objective and impartial data from tenants, real-estate men, bankers, and others involved in the segregation problem.

When the field work is completed, the findings are discussed by the entire group of participants and a report to the community is issued by the sponsoring group. The participants make it their business to work for abolition of any segregation revealed by the survey. Information on how to conduct a self-survey may be had from the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing.

The self-survey is an admirable method for getting newspaper and radio publicity and for stirring up talk among the citizens. The small minority of persons who profit from segregation will not be sympathetic, but a far greater number of good citizens who had never faced the facts of discrimination will be recruited for useful action.

Prejudice cannot be eradicated

by legislation alone. But discriminatory practices which foster and increase prejudice can be outlawed. For example, New York State should act immediately to bar discrimination in any housing that gets financial aid from the Government—as New York City has already done.

Legislative Action Needed

The state has set an example with its two laws to guarantee fair employment and fair educational practices. Each of those laws resulted from a thorough legislative investigation.

The same procedure should be followed before legislation to outlaw housing segregation is drafted. The evil is so widespread and its operation so subversive of American ideals that a painstaking investigation is essential. The task is too big for any private agency or group of agencies. A state commission has the necessary resources, the power to obtain facts not available to private investigators, and the prestige to command broad public support for its recommendations. By its very act in creating a commission the legislature draws new attention to the evil. A single citizen stands very little chance of getting his state legislature to create a commission to investigate discrimination. But if many large groups of citizens insist upon action, they will get it. Requests from these organizations will be effective: welfare agencies, labor unions, church groups, chambers of commerce, settlement houses, service clubs (Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis), Parent-Teacher Associations, women's civic organizations (League of Women Voters and others), student groups.

All these groups are concerned with the preservation of American ideals. Their voices must be joined with those of the minority groups themselves to get the job started. It's up to all citizens to make their weight count by speaking out and acting in their own communities.

The New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing is a pilot organization. The same kind of committee can be organized readily in any community, or in other states.

Nearly every reader of this article belongs to one or more groups. Check the groups with which you and your friends and neighbors and fellow employees are affiliated. Then, after discussing the question of segregation with them, arrange systematically for the subject to be brought up at the next meeting of the union, church group, P.T.A., or other organization. The result should be a brief but strong resolution in favor of a commission to investigate segregation in the state. Copies should go to the governor, to state Senator, and to state assemblyman—and to the local newspaper. It is important, of course, to get answers from the governor and the state legislators. If no answer is received, write again.

A BRIEF OF *AMICUS CURIAE*

The following pages present an* amicus curiae *brief filed by the Federal Council of Churches in support of a Negro, Heman Marion Sweatt, who was denied admission to the University of Texas Law School. This case, now before the Supreme Court, involves the issue of segregation in higher education. It attacks the mythical principle of "separate but equal" accommodations in education. This brief, the first to be filed by the Federal Council, states the official position of the Council on the issue of segregation and asks that a writ of certiorari be granted by the U. S. Supreme Court so that this issue may be "fully discussed, considered, and decided" by the Court.

Permission to file the brief was voted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council with the representatives of the Presbyterian Church, South, on the Executive Committee disassociating that denomination from the action. In granting the Federal Council's motion to file this brief as a friend of the court, the Supreme Court has afforded the Council an opportunity to state its position that segregation is a violation of fundamental Christian principles.

THE Federal Council has repeatedly declared its conviction that segregation enforced by law is a denial of the equal protection of the laws, of the dignity and inherent rights of the individual human being, and of the Christian concept of universal brotherhood. Such segregation, the Council affirms, necessarily predicates inferiority rather than equality; divisiveness instead of fellowship; stigma instead of dignity; prejudice and bias instead of mutual respect and good will; pretense and hyprocrisy instead of good faith and sincerity in the social controls of opportunities to achieve an abundant life.

The present instance is, in the opinion of the Council, confirmation that the thesis of "separate but equal facilities" in the matter of public education tends to maintain a permanent pattern of imposed inferiority and subjection. The official statement approved by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in March, 1946, on the subject of "The Church and Race Relations" declared, among other things:

"Segregation is the pattern of our American race relations. Segregation in America is the externally imposed separation or division of individual citizens, or groups of citizens, based on race, color, creed, or national origin. It is accepted, with some differences of emphasis, in all sections of the country. It is sometimes established and supported by law. In other instances, segregation is almost as rigidly enforced by social custom.

"Segregation in America has always meant inferior services to the minority segregated. This pattern has never been able to secure equal,

separate services to the minority segregated. Segregation is always discriminatory.

"Segregation is an expression of the inferiority-superiority pattern of opinions about race held tenaciously by the vast numbers of Americans. Segregation is not only the expression of an attitude; it is also the means by which that attitude is transmitted from one generation to another. Children of our society, observing minorities as we segregate them, cannot easily escape the conclusion that such minorities are inferior.

"Segregation as practiced in America probably has more effect on the racial opinions of the young than formal teachings of the schools about democracy, or of the Church about Christian brotherhood.

"Segregation as applied to our economic system denies to millions of our citizens free access to the means of making a living and sets for them insurmountable obstacles in their efforts to achieve freedom from want.

"In the greatest crisis in our history, segregation made it impossible to utilize fully large sections of our man power in the armed services and war production. It also seriously limits the contributions of minority groups to the ongoing life of our people in the fields of art, education, science, industry, etc.

"Segregation subjects sections of our population to constant humiliation and forces upon them spiritual and psychological handicaps in every relation of life. This creates a yawning and ofttimes unbridged chasm in the quality of human fellowship and stands in contradiction to the higher American dream. Still more devastating is the moral and spiritual effect upon the majority.

"Segregation handicaps the nation in international relationships. It was a source of great embarrassment to our leaders that we found it difficult to locate an American community where racial practices were acceptable for establishing the headquarters of the United Nations organization. This is a discouraging factor within our life as a nation as we begin to play our part in the new world unity upon which our future existence depends.

"Political segregation has disfranchised large numbers of our citizens, tending to create unnecessary confusion in dealing with important national issues, creating unreal political divisions and giving rise to a type of political demagoguery that threatens the very existence of democratic institutions.

"Segregation increases and accentuates racial tensions. It is worth noting that race riots in this country have seldom occurred in neighborhoods with a racially mixed population. Our worst riots have broken out along the borders of tightly segregated areas.

"The pattern of racial segregation

in America is given moral sanction by the fact that churches and church institutions, as a result of social pressure, have so largely accepted the pattern of racial segregation in their own life and practice. . . .

"The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America hereby renounces the pattern of segregation in race relations as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the gospel of love and human brotherhood. Having taken this action, the Federal Council requests its constituent communions to do likewise. As proof of their sincerity in this renunciation they will work for a nonsegregated Church and a nonsegregated society."

In a later Official Statement on the subject of "The Churches and Human Rights," adopted December, 1948, the Federal Council of Churches stated, among other things:

"Social, Economic, and Political Rights:

"These rights, which should be available to all without discrimination as to race, color, sex, birth, social or economic status, or creed, include:

"A. Full opportunity to participate in the economic resources of the community, including:

"1. The right to a standard of living adequate for the welfare and security of the individual and the family.

"2. The right of every employable person to work under decent conditions, for fair compensation, and to be upgraded in keeping with character and ability; or to engage in an individual enterprise or profession.

"3. The right of all persons to organize into labor unions, corporate enterprises, co-operative ventures, and for social action.

"B. Full opportunity to participate on a nonsegregated basis in the social and public life of the community, including:

"1. The right to wholesome living space.

"2. The right to move within one's country, and to leave and return to one's country.

"3. The right to educational and professional training and to cultural opportunities.

"4. The right to recreational opportunities and facilities.

"5. The right to participate in the use of community social services.

"6. The right to adequate health services.

"7. The right to the use of transportation.

"8. The right to receive equal service from businesses and persons serving the public, such as stores, theaters, hotels, and restaurants."

This determined opposition to segregation was also part of a report received and commended to the Churches in September, 1948, by the First Assembly of the World

Council of Churches at Amsterdam, Holland. This report stated:

"Man is created and called to be a free being, responsible to God and his neighbor. Any tendencies in State and Society depriving man of the possibility of acting responsibly are a denial of God's intention for man and his work of salvation.

"It [the Church] knows that it must call society away from prejudice of discrimination and segregation as denial of justice and human dignity, but it cannot say a convincing word to society unless it takes steps to eliminate these practices from the Christian community because they contradict all that it believes about God's love for all men.

"The Church has always demanded freedom to obey God rather than men. We affirm that all men are equal in the sight of God and that the rights of men derive directly from their status as the children of God. It is presumptuous for the State to assume that it can grant or deny fundamental rights. It is for the State to embody these rights in its own legal system and to ensure their observance in practice.

"With all the resources at their [the churches'] disposal they should oppose enforced segregation on grounds of race or color, working for the progressive recognition and application of this principle in every country."

Segregation, particularly in the matter of educational facilities, is in reality a survival, and in its operation, a perpetuation, of the caste system. It is born of the concept of racial superiority and of class dominance which has brought incalculable misery to the human race through the ages. Self-preservation, to say nothing of the stability and sincerity of democratic institutions and of the obligations which men of good will profess, requires this legacy find no shelter or perpetuation under the sanction of our Constitution and within the body of our law.

We shall not attempt in this brief now to discuss the various judicial decisions that are cited and analyzed in the various briefs submitted in connection with this petition. We recognize that the legalistic aspect of the issue is important and relevant; but we are convinced of the greater relevancy and force of the fundamental principles on which alone our Constitution rests and by which alone it can be sustained. We do not believe that in the human tempest which has been shaking the world for several decades our form of government and way of life can permanently endure on the basis of discriminations and segregations which constitute a contradiction of our principles by our actions.

The convictions, legal, social, ethical, and religious, which the Federal Council has set forth in Official Statement and which it deems an essential part of the mission for which it exists, find, we believe, suf-

ficient and controlling expression in the field of constitutional law in the unanimous decision of this court on May 3, 1948, in Shelley v. Kraemer, 334, U. S. 1, 23:

"The historical context in which the Fourteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution should not be forgotten. Whatever else the framers sought to achieve, it is clear that the matter of primary concern was the establishment of equality in the enjoyment of basic civil and political rights and the preservation of those rights from discriminatory action on the part of the States based on considerations of race or color. Seventy-five years ago this Court announced that the provisions of the Amendment are to be construed with this fundamental purpose in mind."

These profound words constituted the heart and spirit of a historic constitutional decision which struck down enforced segregation, either by public act or private agreement, in the matter of a place to live physically. They apply with far more force and aptness in the matter of a place to live mentally and spiritually. The right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and the right to enjoy and exercise as an equal the inalienable rights with which every man is endowed by his Creator, is not and cannot be confined to physical existence. Man is not merely body. He is also and chiefly mind and spirit.

Segregation in the matter of a place to live means the ghetto. Segregation in matters of the mind and spirit means second-class citizenship. Both betray a Constitution which, as said by Justice Murphy in Oyama v. California, 332, U. S. 633, 663, "embodies the highest political ideals of which man is capable," and "insists that our Government, whether state or Federal, shall respect and observe the dignity of each individual, whatever may be the name of his race, the color of his skin, or the nature of his beliefs." Both betray the very foundations of our democratic way of life and hence also our effort to exert leadership in founding on that way of life a durable peace throughout the world. Both betray what Emil Brunner, in his recent treatise *Justice and the Social Order*, so truly describes as the "sacred law, which can be appealed to against every inhuman, unjust social order, against any caprice or cruelty on the part of the state."

Hence we earnestly join in the request that this petition for a writ of certiorari be granted, in order that the inherent issue so overshadowing our American life may be fully discussed, considered, and decided in this great tribunal.

Respectfully submitted,

Charles H. Tuttle, Attorney for the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

CHICAGO—A BIG CITY HAS BIG PROBLEMS

The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights has prompted many steps toward democracy. Although Chicago is proud of its part in this year-old progress, temporary setbacks leave some blots on the city's record.

During the past few years, Chicago has continued to be a favorite place of migration for thousands of Negro families from the near and lower South, for a substantial proportion of Japanese-Americans from wartime camps, and for thousands of Displaced Persons. Despite the housing shortage, which is the main obstacle to their full and easy incorporation, these newcomers are being absorbed into the life of the community.

Too Little Shelter

Chicago's housing problems were serious before 1941, were aggravated by wartime demands, and became acute when the end of hostilities brought home service men and women, anxious to found new families. In the face of a negligible addition to the total housing supply, and that at prohibitive cost, the problem of finding living space for immigrants has generated hardships and understandable bitterness. For Chicago's increasing number of Negro residents, the search for shelter has been further complicated by barriers of racial exclusion.

The story of the Airport Homes Project, in November, 1946, received national attention, when the Chicago Housing Authority's attempt to settle a few Negro families in the dominantly white-tenanted project resulted in mass demonstrations and violence. The police were slow in meeting their responsibility. Finally, the Negro families moved out.

But the unfortunate incident did not end there because it stimulated constructive groups to bring the issue to public attention. As a result, there emerged a clearer policy on the part of the Chicago Housing Authority and of the city administration in support of nondiscriminatory principles in housing and of policing adequate to prevent disorder and violence.

Six months later, when another racially mixed project in Fernwood was about to be occupied by the assigned Negro and white tenants, plans to avoid a repetition of the Airport Homes experience were developed in advance. Efforts to welcome the tenants included a canteen established to dispense food for their convenience on moving day. Police were present to prevent disorders. During the evening, the project and the adjacent area were closed to motor traffic, and the police detail was increased. But on the second night, a crowd gathered, and soon degenerated into a mob bent upon ejecting the Negro tenants—by violence if necessary. Unable to reach the project itself, the crowd surged to a nearby main thoroughfare and began stoning Negro motorists. Greatly strengthened police forces were able to disperse the mob, but the disorders were resumed the next night. Even the police were violently attacked. More than a score of arrests were made, and, with the resumption of violence on the following night, nearly a hundred additional arrests were made. Subsequent court hearings showed that a part of the mob consisted of youths imported from neighboring areas.

Law and order were victorious because, as in many other similar instances in Chicago and elsewhere, the Fernwood experience proved that an unequivocal policy

of nondiscrimination, consistently practiced and adequately enforced, can win the overwhelming support of the public, provided adequate preparation is made in the local community.

Although organized violence on this scale has not been repeated in Chicago, Negro in-migrants to hitherto white areas have been subjected to sporadic outbursts, vandalism, and even to arson and bombing. Fortunately, few Negro families which have moved into white areas have yielded to intimidation; even fewer have attempted retaliation. But overt and subtle resistance has significantly retarded the ability of Negro families to escape from slums and congested areas.

During the past few years, however, Negro families have been increasingly able to move, and some Negro residents can now be found in more than forty of the city's fifty wards. The notable Supreme Court decision of May 3, 1948, making racially restrictive covenants unenforceable in the courts, has deprived residential segregation of its most effective sanction. It is not to be hoped, however, that it will suddenly revolutionize long-established attitudes and patterns of settlement; nor has it so far appreciably expanded the total housing supply available to the majority of the Negro population.

While some of the greatest difficulties in the improvement of intergroup relations in Chicago, as in other cities, have been met in the field of housing, similar problems have been encountered in employment, education, health, welfare, recreation, the administration of justice, and the use of public and quasi-public facilities.

The City Defends Its Citizens

Chicago's Commission on Human Relations has continued to serve as an effective public agency, and now receives the official support of the municipal government, both financial and moral. Its vigilant and accurate reporting of cases of discrimination, tension, and violence—actual and threatened—has helped to check outbreaks. Of special interest, from the point of view of public education and citizen participation, was a city-wide Conference on Civic Unity, in which the problems and progress of the city were reviewed before a group of citizens representing the many organizations concerned with improving racial and cultural relations.

Citizens Defend Each Other

Corresponding to the work of the Commission on Human Relations, on the public side, is the vigorous activity of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination. It has served as a fact-finding body, as a watchdog and critic, catalytic agent and mediator and, on every crucial occasion, as the mobilizer of constructive community opinion and action. Churches, labor unions, civic organizations, and specialized agencies representing minority groups have co-operated under the Chicago Council's leadership in many crucial efforts to prevent undesirable incidents and to guide the city in the pursuit of democratic policies.

To Secure These Rights has inspired many of the institutions of the community to re-examination of their policies and operations. A notable instance is Michael Reese Hospital and its associated facilities, including its School of Nursing and Mandel Out-Patient Clinic. This institution, operating under the auspices of the Jewish Charities of Chicago, has developed a policy of serving all members of the community, irrespective of race or creed, and has set such an excellent standard for similar institutions that it has received a special award from the Commission on Human Relations.

The Neighborhood Spirit

Neighborhoods in Chicago have also organized themselves in behalf of freedom and justice, sometimes fostered by the Council of Social Agencies to improve housing, health, and welfare. Of special in-

terest is the Back-of-the-Yards Neighborhood Council, an effective instrument for education and common action among the scores of business, labor, church, health, welfare, and other organizations in the stockyards area.

A unique program of training police for dealing with intergroup problems, under the auspices of the Chicago Park District, is being continued, and serves as a model for a number of police departments throughout the country.

In the Chicago public schools, the general superintendent has inaugurated a program that goes far beyond what is conventionally done under the name of intercultural education. Undertaken in cooperation with Chicago University's Committee on Education, Training, and Research in Race Relations, this program seeks to develop and utilize the resources of social science research, in the better understanding and solution of problems of intergroup relations, as well as to train professionally competent experts.

Altogether, Chicago has taken *To Secure These Rights* seriously, for the big city is awake to its responsibilities in moving closer, day by day, to the ideal of a democratic America.

—Louis Wirth. Reprinted from The Woman's Press, *February, 1949.*

America's Ad Men Campaign For Brotherhood

A second nation-wide campaign of newspaper advertisements to combat religious and racial prejudice has been launched by the Advertising Council. Leading advertising agencies and ad men have volunteered their talents and time in the preparation of these display advertisements; and publishers, advertisers, and advertising managers are urged to sponsor these messages in communities throughout the country. The messages have been carefully and skillfully prepared by the participating agencies, and screened and approved by national organizations with wide experience in human relations.

By running these ads or offering them for sponsorship, newspapers provide an answering voice to the bigots and prejudiced. They will tell the men and women of good will that there are others who believe as they do. They provide hope for those who suffer the blows and buffeting of discrimination; and, finally, they will help to provide the friendly community climate in which understanding and co-operation can grow and take root.

The first series of advertisements, the Advertising Council reports, met with widespread acceptance. In large cities and small, the United America Campaign frequently served as a rallying point of men of good will and organizations working in this field. Afterward, the diverse views of community groups were drawn together in the co-operative effort of sponsoring, or finding sponsors of this series. The advertisers represented a roster of all kinds of business, large and small—power companies, banks, ice and coal dealers, laundries, department stores, insurance agents, and gasoline stations. The Advertising Council has evaluated the country-wide response to this campaign and its report brings this encouraging note:

"And what was the community's response? Apathetic? Cynical? Quite the reverse. Letters—hopeful and thankful letters—often showered the sponsors. In numerous instances there were indications that the series brought direct patronage because of the friendly messages in the advertisements.

"How long will the United America Campaign continue? Obviously it will continue as long as our public policy committee tells us the subject is high up on the list of natural problems."

Church leaders can acquaint the advertisers and publishers of their communities with the current campaign. Mats and printed proof sheets can be obtained free of charge by writing the Advertising Council, Department T-33, 25 West 45th Street, New York 19, New York. Each ad is cleverly illustrated, and layout provides space for the sponsor's name and address.

Here is a typical display advertisement:

She's a good mother . . . a kindhearted woman. She wouldn't harm a fly.

Not deliberately, that is.

She doesn't stop to consider how a word—a careless, cruel word—will stick in a child's mind. For years, perhaps. Maybe for a lifetime.

So she says—

"I wish you wouldn't play with that new child down the block."

Perhaps she doesn't even say why. She doesn't have to. Children catch on. They know why their mother objects to "that new child."

It's because of his religion. Or maybe his race.

And so—carelessly, unthinkingly—another seed of prejudice is planted.

And, down the block, another child's heart is broken.

Maybe you know Mrs. X. Maybe she lives next door. Maybe she lives even closer than that.

Won't you please think it over?

For our children's sake—for our own sake—we can all do these three things to help build a better America:

1. Accept—or reject—people on their individual worth.

2. Don't listen to, or spread, rumors against a race, or a religion.

3. Speak up, wherever we are, against prejudice, and work for understanding.

Remember—That's Being an American."

Other messages strike at the heart of discrimination in employment, prejudice against persons of foreign background. The presentation of this campaign to local editors and publishers is a recommended project for church leaders.

"PEOPLES SPEAKING TO PEOPLES"

People—light and dark, Oriental and Occidental—crossed the United States and the Atlantic Ocean to speak with the peoples from all nations gathered in Paris. This is the slogan of UNESCO: "Peoples Speaking to Peoples."

Twelve members of The Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples, in San Francisco, left their jobs, their local responsibilities, their personal plans, for several weeks this fall, and, providing their own finances, attended UNESCO meetings in Paris. They were unofficial, they had no status, no voice, no portfolio; they were just people.

The members of Fellowship delegation were cross-section American: teachers, social workers, musicians, artists. But their color combination was strange to America. Hotels and restaurants and auto courts encountered as they crossed the country had not yet adjusted their accommodations to the flag of the United Nations. In the United States a group of all peoples attracted much attention and was frequently rejected. In some respects they found that

they were not representing America at all. But no one noticed after they got to Europe; color shadings were unimportant.

Official members of UNESCO talked with the peoples from San Francisco: Dr. Arthur Compton, Jr., permanent United States delegate to UNESCO, told them that the greatest problem of UNESCO was to bridge the gap between the mushrooming international officialdom and the local problems of individual people. He thought that this could be done only as the people themselves took the initiative and came to UNESCO with their concerns; the Fellowship delegation were giving life and reality to the United Nations as they came to UNESCO as responsible world citizens.

Dr. Angelis, head of the UNESCO Project on International Tensions, was so interested in the kind of motivation and dynamic that would send a group on such a journey that he expressed a desire to study and document the organization and situation out of which they had come. He said that if it were possible to finance it locally, he would assign an official UNESCO worker to a research project at Fellowship Church.

We who are the peoples of the world must find and express our common needs and the identity of our religious experiences. Only then can we produce diplomats who will have a living experience of the ultimate issues of life, and whose deliberations within the council chambers will be based upon their fundamental certainty of the spiritual oneness of all the many peoples with whom they deal. Oneness of spirit must be an experience of the people before it can become a principle of government. —*Adena Joy. From* The Fellowship Bulletin, *December, 1949, monthly publication of The Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples, San Francisco, California.*

Young visitors and their hostess, age 7, take time out for refreshments at Hallmer's drugstore. Major Housen* (left), *of Sleepy Eye, Minnesota, greets the youngsters while other residents discuss the experiment in intercultural relations

A VENTURE IN INTERRACIAL FRIENDSHIP

The summer of 1949 marked the third year of an experience in interracial and rural-urban friendship for the Churches of Minnesota. The plan followed was that conceived and initiated by Rev. A. Ritchie Low, of Johnson, Vermont. According to this plan, city children of different racial backgrounds are sent to town and country homes throughout the state to share in a demonstration of democracy and wholesome living.

The venture was pioneered by the Social Action Committees of the Congregational and Evangelical United Brethren Churches. In 1949 the Social Education and Action Committee of the Presbyterian Synod of Minnesota was asked to share in the venture, and the Minnesota Council of Churches was invited to serve as coordinator. In 1950 the project will be open to all denominations wishing to participate.

The children who visited in the town and country came from Minneapolis and St. Paul since the colored population of Minnesota is confined almost entirely to the Twin Cities. Although most come from Negro homes, youngsters of Mexican and nisei background were also included. Important to the undertaking was the careful selection of normal children who would be eager to have fun and do things. Colored pastors and the directors of settlement houses were responsible for this selection. The Urban League also co-operated in general planning.

Fishing partners at Sleepy Eye lake

The youngsters were all from nine to twelve years of age and were assigned to white homes, two boys or two girls to a home. The plan worked out most happily when there were other children of the same age in the home family. It was also found to be advisable to assign children to more than one home in the community.

Every child was given a medical examination and covered by health and accident insurance. Hosts were given the addresses of the children's parents and of a settlement house worker whom they might contact if parents could not be reached. Parents were also informed about the home to which their children would be going.

Instructions were sent to all hosts:

- Avoid emphasizing physical differences between these children and others in the home or neighborhood. Such differences should be ignored or treated as we treat differences in height, weight, color of eyes, or color of hair.
- Avoid the use of terms which are derogatory or vulgar designations of a racial or religious minority. Such terms as "nigger, coon, shine, snowball, Sambo, Rastus, George, Boy, or negress" should be avoided. These words will not help to establish good relationships.
- Use the same standard of conduct for your guests as you use for your own children. Be natural, make sugges-

tions, be firm, and give orders only when necessary.

The reaction on the part of both the colored and white groups interested in the project was on the whole very good. One mother said: "We just couldn't have two finer girls staying with us. Do you know that the girls, together with Nancy Davis and Sandra Jackson of St. James, made up a little three-act play, invited about twenty neighbors to see it, and gave the proceeds to the local Presbyterian Church?"

The majority of children helped in home and farm work or with the care of smaller children in the homes which they visited. One youngster, however, when asked to help with the dishes said quite earnestly, "I'm on my vacation and I don't have to do dishes." They also shared in the normal community and church activities, Sunday school picnics, softball games.

Thirty-five children were assigned to homes in seven different communities. More than half went into Presbyterian homes enlisted through synod and presbytery Committees of Social Education and Action. It is expected that the project next year will be considerably larger. The children have liked the experience and are telling their friends and neighbors about their good times. The youngsters who were reluctant to leave their homes the first two or three years are reassured about going into a strange environment, and want a share in the fun.

It may be that in the future we shall develop an exchange program with white children invited into the Negro homes of the Twin Cities. A few colored families have already invited to their homes white children who were host to their own youngsters. However, because of housing problems in the cities, it may be difficult just now to plan for any extensive exchange program.

—John M. Wilson, Associate Secretary, Minnesota Council of Churches.

Games and a sing around the piano for city boys and girls visiting in Sleepy Eye, Minnesota

"MAKE BROTHERHOOD AN EXPERIENCE INSTEAD OF AN EXHORTATION"

The Ministerial Associations of Champaign and Urbana, Illinois, sponsored two interracial and interdenominational vesper services last spring. The purpose of these services was to provide an opportunity for people of good will from all denominations and races to worship together in Christian fellowship as children of one Father. Invitations carried this appealing and provocative theme —"Make brotherhood an experience instead of an exhortation."

—H. Doran, minister, First Presbyterian Church, Vancouver, Washington.

MINISTRY TO MANY

Over the radio in Pendleton, Oregon, at nine o'clock on a Thursday morning last November came the voice of a young minister telling in simple and moving words the story of Jesus and the rich young ruler. The speaker, Rev. Tongjin Samuel Lee, was born in Pyengyang, Korea, the son of a Korean minister. He was educated in a Presbyterian mission school, the Soongsill Academy and College, and was graduated from Nippon University in Tokyo. Soon afterward he came to the United States as a student, and after graduation from Parsons College and from Louisville Seminary, was ordained in 1943. During the war he served as language editor for the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information. However, as soon as he could be released, he accepted an appointment as a missionary to the American Indians.

About a year ago he was called as minister to the Tutuilla Indian Church on the Umatilla Reservation, about six miles southeast of Pendleton, Oregon. This is one of the oldest Presbyterian churches in eastern Oregon. The mission was established almost seventy years ago. To a congregation of Umatillas, Wallawallas, Nez Percé, and Cayuses have been added a Korean-born minister, his wife, who was born in this country of Korean parentage, and a white woman, who is the church pianist.

The Tutuilla Church has a women's missionary society, a junior society, a Westminster Fellowship, a Cornerstone Fellowship for adults, and a fourteen-voice choir. Several months ago one of the field workers of the Board of National Missions visited Tutuilla Church and sang with the choir at rehearsal. She was the first Negro some of the church members had ever seen.

Recently the First Presbyterian Church of Pendleton asked Mr. Lee to become their youth director in addition to his ministry to the Tutuilla Church. Through his twofold church relationship—to the Tutuilla Indian Church and the white church of Pendleton—this young man of Oriental background is giving a powerful Christian leadership to Indian and white people.
—*Alice Maloney, Assistant Secretary, Department of Rural Work, Presbyterian Board of National Missions.*

Citizenship

MOBILIZING FOR ACTION

This issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS goes to press as the second session of the 81st Congress convenes. Present sources of information point to early consideration of civil rights legislation and the possible threat of filibuster in the Senate. A complete list of bills dealing with FEPC, segregation in the armed forces, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching measures appeared in the June, 1949, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Public opinion about this legislation is being mobilized, and over fifty national and regional organizations representing civic, labor, and religious groups have joined forces to work for it. They believe that the enactment of legislation to prohibit discrimination in employment should have priority. Bills (S. 1728, S. 91, and H. R. 4453) for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission are ready for immediate floor action in both Houses.

This co-operative undertaking is known nationally as the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization and its purpose is "to tell Congress that the majority of the American people want the civil rights program."

In this mobilizing effort local groups are urged to call upon, wire, and write to their Congressmen and Senators; to write the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees (Republican Chairman, Guy G. Gabrielson, 1337 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.; Democratic Chairman, William M. Boyle, Jr., Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.), reminding them that their party platforms pledged enactment of FEPC and urging that they call upon their members in Congress to vote for FEPC as party policy.

Local groups are also urged to visit the party leaders in precincts, wards, city, county, and state Republican and Democratic organizations. Individuals or groups can also organize discussion groups and mass meetings where Congressmen and Senators are invited to speak, or where resolutions may be adopted for transmission to representatives in Congress. Senators and Congressmen may be requested to insert such resolutions into the Congressional Record.

The National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization Committee has called a Civil Rights Conference in Washington, January 15-17. Civic and religious groups were requested to send large and representative delegations from local communities to this conference.

Folders describing this conference, *The Civil Rights Mobilization Plans*, are available from the Presbyterian Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights was issued more than two years ago. While it has been widely and vigorously debated, not one of its major recommendations has been enacted into Federal law. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., has issued pronouncements favoring the recommendations of this report, and Presbyterian leaders throughout the nation should be familiar with the General Assembly's stands and with these ten points included in the report *To Secure These Rights:*

1. Establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission.
2. Abolition of the poll tax as a voting requirement.
3. Enactment of antilynching legislation.
4. Prohibition of segregation in interstate transportation facilities.
5. Home rule and suffrage in presidential elections for Washington, D. C.
6. Establishment of a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a joint Congressional committee on civil rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.
7. Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska.
8. Elimination of racial barriers to naturalization.
9. Settlement of evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.
10. Strengthening existing civil rights laws.

Study and discuss these rights. Let your Congressmen and Senators know what you and the members of your church believe should be done in the second session of the 81st Congress. As a helpful guide to your study, read the pamphlet *The Christian Citizen and Civil Rights*, by Dorothy Height and J. Oscar Lee, available from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. 50 cents. Another excellent study guide in the "Talk It Over Series" is *What's the Score on Civil Rights?* This twelve-page brochure gives the pros and cons of civil rights legislation and valuable suggestions for organizing a "community audit." Single copies, 10 cents; 11 copies, $1.00, from National Institute of Social Relations, Inc., 1244 Twentieth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

—*Margaret E. Kuhn.*

ON THE AGENDA FOR PEACE

On December 9, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations unanimously adopted a convention on the crime of genocide—the destruction of a human group—racial, ethnic, religious, or national.

History furnishes many examples of genocide, and the national laws against murder are not in themselves sufficient to stop the crime because such laws apply only within each country and cannot protect people in other countries, especially in cases where Government officials or powerful groups of individuals are the perpetrators. In such cases, international law is needed. The United Nations has therefore undertaken to outlaw genocide as an international crime.

On December 9, 1948, after two years of hard work, the General Assembly unanimously approved an international convention against genocide. Fifty-five of the fifty-eight member nations voted for it. The other three were absent.

When the parliaments of twenty nations ratify the convention, it will have the force of law.

This is the first international legislative act adopted by the UN. Throughout the world, it has been hailed as an epochal measure. At present, there are five crimes outlawed by international convention: white slavery; traffic in opium; piracy; circulation of obscene literature; forgery of currency. Genocide would be the sixth. Here are some of the reasons for the ratification of the Genocide Convention by the United States Senate:

1. Genocide, which means deliberate destruction of national, religious, and racial groups, is one of the most important issues to humanity at the present moment. Genocide did not stop with Hitler and did not start with Hitler. In the last two years charges of genocide were brought before the United Nations by Pakistan (one million Moslems killed in India), by representatives of three Baltic states (destruction of religious and intellectual leaders, breaking up of families, deportations in conditions involving physical destruction), by the Greek Government (more than 5,000 Greek children kidnaped from their mothers by guerrillas).

2. The following excerpt from President Truman's message to the Senate transmitting the Convention (June 16, 1949) speaks for itself:

"America has long been a symbol of freedom and democratic progress to peoples less favored than we have been and we must maintain their belief in us for our policies and our acts.

"By the leading part the United States has taken in the United Nations in producing an effective international legal instrument outlawing the world-shocking crime of genocide, we have established before the world our firm and clear policy toward that crime. By giving its advice and consent to my ratification of this Convention, which I urge, the Senate of the United States will demonstrate that the United States is prepared to take effective action on its part to contribute to the establishment of principles of law and justice."

3. The Genocide Convention is fully in line with American tradition. Two Republican Presidents, Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, rebuked the Russian czar on pogroms; two Democratic Presidents, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, tried to save the Armenians and the Nazi victims of genocide, respectively.

4. Ratification of this Convention would be a measure of economy. The U.S.A. has spent hundreds of millions of dollars for rehabilitation of survivors of genocide (Near Eastern relief, rehabilitation money for the Jews, victims of pogroms under the czar, and the Nazis; the problem of

refugees, the International Children's Fund, etc.).

5. Genocide creates national and international tensions and is a threat to social and international peace. It is a perpetuation of hatred in intergroup relations.

6. Ratification of the Convention will strengthen the United Nations and its prestige in the world.

7. Genocide entails also destruction of economic resources and disruption of world trade. Although predominantly motivated by national, racial, and religious hatred, it frequently brings with it the destruction of property, pillage, and arson. For example, in 1947, in the subcontinent of India, genocide was preceded by economic dislocation through such destruction of property, which resulted in interruption of trade with other countries, especially the U.S.A.

8. The preservation of religious groups throughout the world is important from the point of view of moral stability and spiritual solace in society. Genocide, which martyrs religious leaders and their followers and desecrates or destroys their churches, strikes at the roots of the society in which it takes place.

9. In its larger dimensions, genocide is used by dictators and conquerors to consolidate their conquests by wiping out native populations which might resist in the future. World indifference to such criminal tactics strengthens dictators and encourages them to more aggressions.

10. According to American law, the international crime of genocide, like piracy, will be within the purview of Article I of the Constitution, which says that "Congress shall have the power . . . to define and punish piracies and . . . offences under the law of nations." No controversial issues of State rights are involved because international crimes are always under Federal jurisdiction.

11. America is providing political, economic, and military leadership to the world. By taking a strong stand on such a humanitarian issue as genocide, America will prove to the world that its leadership is essentially undertaken for peaceful and humanitarian purposes only.

12. Ratification of the Convention by the Senate at this session would demonstrate again to the world the continuing support of the United Nations by this country, and encourage speedy ratification by other countries.

13. Support for the Genocide Convention has come not only from all religions, but from labor, management, veterans', women's, farm, and many other civic organizations.

14. Genocide does not imply the destruction of life only, but also its prevention through such acts as compulsory sterilization and abortion. Here women are the special target of genocide. It deeply affects family ties and is concommitant with the mass phenomenon of rape, abduction, and other degradations imposed upon women. Continuity of a nation can also be disrupted by the wholesale stealing of children bringing suffering and anguish to the parents. The women of the world have a particular stake in this Convention.

15. Since 1946, the American delegation has assumed leadership in the formulation and adoption of the Convention. The U.S. delegate in Paris, Ernest Gross, urged other countries to sign and ratify. Twenty-seven nations, including the United States, have signed. Norway, Ethiopia, and Australia have ratified.

The Convention is before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which was appointed on July 29, consisting of McMahon (D), Conn., Chairman, Pepper (D), Florida, Thomas (D), Utah, Lodge (R), Massachusetts, and Hickenlooper (R), Iowa. To date, no decision has been reached in regard to hearings before this subcommittee. It is suggested that interested organizations write to Senator McMahon asking for an opportunity to testify or to file statements in favor of this Convention.

Sanctuary

My Brother's Brother

Call to Worship:

Let us worship God.

"O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me; let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles. Then will I go unto the altar of God, unto God my exceeding joy."—*Ps. 43: 3, 4.*

Hymn of Praise: "For the Beauty of the Earth."

Invocation:

Eternal God our Father, we bless thee for the revelation of thyself in ourselves. In thy image thou hast created us; after thy likeness have we been wondrously fashioned, so that, when thou dost bid us seek thy face, our hearts make glad response unto thee: "Thy face, Lord, will I seek." Enable us by thy grace continually to seek thee; and seeking, to find thee; and finding, to follow thee always. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Scripture: John 10: 14-16.

Interpretation:

"Other sheep I have." These are the Shepherd's words. Watchers of the skies tell us that beyond our sight, or even the widest range of our most powerful instruments, there are other heavenly bodies, in number incalculable, which are a part of the boundless universe. All around us are degrees of sound and sight which we can perceive only in part. Fanny Crosby sings of "depths of love" and "heights of joy" that we can never know "till we cross the narrow sea." And the Gentle Shepherd speaks to us of other sheep and one fold—human souls who, with us, are to become members of the family of God.

Hymn: "Lift Up Our Hearts, O King of Kings."

Meditation:

Brotherhood is, for humanity, a goal far short of attainment. Like Arnall's democracy, it is "a shore dimly seen." David Grayson, in *Adventures in Contentment*, affirms this fact. He says: "Sometimes I think that the science of humanity today is in about the same state of darkness that the natural sciences were in when Cuvier and Lamark began groping for the laws of natural unity. Most of the human race still groans under the belief that each of us is a special and unrelated creation, just as men for ages saw no relationship between the fowl of the air, the beasts of the field and the fish of the sea."

"But thank God," he continues, "we are beginning to learn that unity is as much a

law of life as selfish struggle, and that love is a more vital force than avarice or power or place. A Wandering Carpenter knew it, and taught it, twenty centuries ago."

Through the years there have been three attitudes toward brotherhood. Expressed in individual terms, they have been given the following description:

First, I am my brother's KEEPER. This is the philosophy of ruthless imperialism, the canon of the advocates of a master race. It maintains the position that in order to have a satisfactory society, there must be a dominant race or group clothed with full power and authority to control the destinies of the weaker or subject races, and that this power and authority must be upheld, no matter what the cost.

Second, I am my brother's HELPER. This attitude represents a distinct advance over the first. It is granted that it has prompted much of our splendid charitable activities, and many of our great missionary enterprises. The lot of needy and suffering persons throughout the world today would be infinitely worse were it not for the lavish expression of the desire for helpfulness. These things cannot be gainsaid.

Nevertheless, the "helper" attitude is not enough. Paul speaks of the insufficiency of the bestowal of goods without the accompaniment of love. And it is still true that "the gift without the giver is bare."

Moreover, at times our very helpfulness may be justifiably suspect. It is not a very high order of benevolence to aid in stemming an epidemic on the grounds that if not checked, it will endanger our own families and friends. Nor is it particularly noteworthy to contribute to the establishment of a playground, a school, or a church for certain groups so that they will not need to share the use of the facilities we enjoy.

Third, I AM MY BROTHER'S BROTHER. I would never desire to be a keeper of my brother. I could never be content to be only his helper. I am my brother's brother! The first is despotic, brutal. The second is detached and impersonal. The third alone is Christian.

It is true that we vary greatly in race and culture, in attitude and aptitude; in physical, mental, social, ethical, and spiritual characteristics, but there are no variations so wide or differences so deep that can destroy the truth established by fact and faith, of the essential oneness of humanity.

I am my brother's BROTHER because brotherhood is central in the word and life and spirit of Jesus Christ as his way, his truth, and his life, and because the Gentle Shepherd speaks to us of other sheep and one fold—human souls far and near who with us are to become members of the family of God.

Silent Prayer.

Hymn: "I Bind My Heart This Tide."

Benediction:

"The God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in His sight; through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

— *Jesse Belmont Barber, Associate Director, Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations, the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and Dean of Lincoln University Theological Seminary, Lincoln University, Pa.*

About Books

Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine, 1917-1949, by Arthur Koestler. The Macmillan Company. $4.00.

In *Promise and Fulfilment,* the story of Palestine from the Balfour Declaration to shortly after the assassination of Bernadotte, Koestler turns his many-faceted writing talents to a theme which, through intimate contact, is very familiar to him.

The book consists of three parts: "Background" of the founding of Israel; "Close-up," his diary account of the Arab-Jewish war; and "Perspective," the political structure and future prospects of the State of Israel.

In the manner of a dispassionate historian, Koestler begins with a rather objective statement of the British difficulty in reconciling the Balfour doctrine with practical political considerations. However, as he assembles document after document to prove the perfidy of Albion, the author's indignation mounts as his edifice of condemnation rises. The Chamberlain White Paper develops a forked tail and the British Labour Government, from whom the Jews expected much, comes forth with a Bevan who grows horns.

Many critics have attributed the unsavory actions of the English in the Palestine affair to the British desire to continue the flow of Arabian oil and to keep the Arabs from becoming allies of the Germans at first and out of the clutches of the Comintern at a later period. Koestler, in one of his many well-turned phrases, says, "The puritan British mind always feels sinfully flattered when, instead of inconsistency and muddle, cynical ruthlessness and Machiavellian cunning are imputed to it." However, he states that neither expediency nor Machiavellianism explain the British attitude. It was rather an unrealistic "cloud-cuckoo" policy in London and the anti-Semitism of the British Administration in Palestine.

Koestler says that this book is not a historical treatise, but he documents his arguments copiously. His diary account of the war continues the documentation as he gives the interesting human touch to inhuman conflict.

Many of the Jews will not be pleased with Koestler's criticism of the Palestine Government and of Jewish policy in the third part of the book. Koestler points out that the many splinter parties, the dominance of the rabbis, and the insistence on the ancient Hebrew language will prove to be definite drawbacks as Israel tries to exist in this modern age.

Toynbee, in his *Study of History,* calls this effort to bring a dead language back to life a "perverse undertaking which has come from the nationalistic craze for distinctiveness and cultural self-sufficiency."

As one tries to assess the right and wrong of the claims of Jews and Arabs and British, he must agree with Koestler that "the term 'historic justice' is vague and undefined . . . all judgments become a function of time. Yesterday's act of violence is today's fait accompli and tomorrow's legal status quo." Ralph Bunche must have had some such thought in mind when he stated, "The existence of the State of Israel is a vibrant reality."

—*James Bonner MacRae.*

Palestine Is Our Business, by Millar Burrows. The Westminster Press. $2.50.

Dr. Burrows' new book, *Palestine Is Our Business,* is a brief (155 pages), clear statement of the case by a competent scholar. His experiences as visiting professor at the American University of

Beirut and director of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem contribute to his understanding of the problem with which the book deals. He believes "a terrible wrong has been done to the native people of the country," and that the Jewish problem cannot be solved in Palestine.

The author in closing sets up an agenda of twelve points including relief for the Arabs (approximately 750,000 dispossessed), return of Arab refugees to their homes, boundaries of Israel to be fixed by the United Nations, according to partition plan of 1947, Jerusalem and surrounding area to be placed under an international administration as contemplated by 1947 partition plan, the wishes of the people left under Arab control to be ascertained by a plebiscite, the government they desire granted them, and the inviolability of its territory guaranteed.

"There Is Still Trouble in Jerusalem" is the title of a significant article which Dr. Burrows has written for SOCIAL PROGRESS. It will appear in the March issue and will treat the question as it is being handled by the United Nations.

SOCIAL PROGRESS has printed articles by John Paul Jones presenting the case for Israel. These with Dr. Burrows' article supply a good introduction to the issue. Bartly Crumb's book, *Behind the Silken Curtain*, and Sumner Wells's *We Need Not Fail*, arguing the case for Israel are valuable for informed action.

Dr. Burrows makes a convincing case. The careful study of the argument of his book is essential to a wise, Christian decision. —*Paul N. Poling.*

Fourteen Plays for the Church, edited by Kai Jurgensen and Robert Schenkkan. Rutgers University Press. $3.00.

This book of simple, beautiful old religious plays includes six for the Christmas season, five for Easter, and three others. These plays, all from the days when drama was used for religious educational purposes, are readily suitable for church presentation. They are traditional Church dramas, written in the style of the Middle Ages, and emphasizing the central truths about Christmas and Easter as well as dealing with the teaching elements in the raising of Lazarus, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the tragedy of Job. Complete suggestions for staging and costuming are included. But since the plays were all given originally in the church, they do not require elaborate settings and use only simple costumes. The book will be welcomed by any persons responsible for programs if they wish to restore the drama to its rightful place in the Church as a teaching medium, and wish to do so by helping the Church to understand how before the days of printing and easily accessible scripture, the Church taught the truths of the Bible. Such a book of plays will be limited in appeal because the style is in contrast with the modern day of radio drama and television. But to those interested in keeping alive the Church's sense of historical continuity this series of plays will be helpful. —*John C. White.*

Church, State and Education, A Selected Bibliography, prepared by the Library of Jewish Information. The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Free.

This bibliography released in October, 1949, lists books, pamphlets, and periodicals that present historical background, current developments, and a cross section of opinion on the much-debated question of Church, State, and education. The materials listed are carefully divided under such headings as "Church and State," "Religious Education in the Public Schools," "Released Time," and "Aid to Parochial Schools."

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The One Great Hour of Sharing on Sunday morning, March 12, at eleven o'clock will climax the period of sacrificial giving from February 12 to March 12 for Presbyterians throughout the United States. During this four-week period Presbyterian families have been asked to keep one or more major meals each week to very simple menus, adding the price of the food thus saved to the offering they bring to their churches on March 12.

"All funds for overseas relief which are received through Presbyterian churches will be allocated by the Presbyterian Church," it has been announced by Dr. William N. Wysham, chairman of the special committee on the 1950 Sacrificial Offering for Overseas Relief. But much of the overseas work which these sacrificial gifts will support will be undertaken co-operatively with other denominations.

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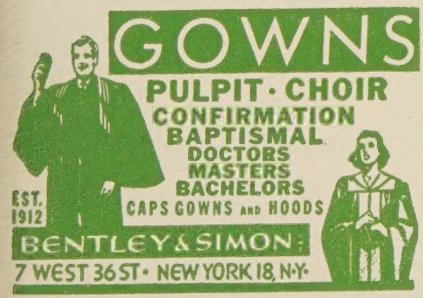

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Muted Trumpets

We will not help His Kingdom grow;
Too great the pain and sorrow.
Is not Love bound within our creeds
To heal old wounds tomorrow?

Yet Jesus showed men how to live.
To him it is not worship
To build a church so fine and grand
That hungry men, war-weary,
Crouched by its doors, wide-open flung,
May fear, disdained, to enter
Where well-fed men, war-making men,
Can pray for peace tomorrow;
Can mumble words—soft, soothing words—
"Abundant life . . . tomorrow";
Who sing and talk and programs build:
"Thy will be done, tomorrow."

Oh, dare we help his Kingdom grow—
Or more time dare we borrow?
His Kingdom cannot, must not, wait
Forever till tomorrow.

—Geraldine Satchell Dillingham.